

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS
ARE ATTACHED:
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ER 86-4539x

ER 86-4680x

ER 86-4539x/1

ER 86-5695x

ddi-05518x/86

SUBJECT: Conventional

Arms Control

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
ROUTING SLIP

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SUSPENSE		200, 5 Dec 86			
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Remarks To #5: As requested in Para #4, please prepare response for Dir Exec Staff Signature.

Executive Secretary

4 Dec 86

Date

3637 (10-81)

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SECRETSYSTEM II
90804NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

December 4, 1986

Executive Registry

68- 5695X

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DONALD GREGG
 Assistant to the Vice President for
 National Security Affairs

MR. NICHOLAS PLATT
 Executive Secretary
 Department of State

COLONEL JAMES F. LEMON
 Executive Secretary
 Department of Defense

Executive Secretary
 Central Intelligence Agency

CAPTAIN JOSEPH C. STRASSER
 Executive Assistant to the Chairman
 Joint Chiefs of Staff

MR. WILLIAM STAPLES
 Executive Secretary
 Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

SUBJECT: New Conventional Arms Control Negotiations:
 End Game (C)

The attached text is provided as guidance for US-French consultations in Paris December 5-6, 1986 on new negotiations on conventional arms control in Europe. The text provides a position acceptable to the United States for forum and procedures for negotiating a mandate for such negotiations. The text does not supersede the principles distributed on October 4, 1986, but rather translates those principles into working text. (S)

In seeking to produce US-French agreement, the US delegation is authorized to modify the attached language, on a basis consistent with established USG objectives and principles, if there is consensus for such change among agency representatives. (S)

Following the consultations, the US delegation is requested to report promptly to Washington on the consultation results, on likely future French moves and on the delegation's recommendations concerning the further US handling of this issue at the December 11-12 NAC. (S)

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While every effort should be made by the US delegation to achieve agreement on the attached text in the course of the Paris consultations, agencies are requested to provide agency recommendation for future US action at the NAC if the contingency arises that the Paris consultations remain at an impasse on critical issues. Such agency views are requested no later than noon Friday, December 6, 1986. (S)



Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Attachment
USG-Approved Text

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Approved USG Text for Future Conventional Arms Control
Negotiations, Forum and Procedures

I. Consultations Within the Alliance

As we move towards a new and more sensitive phase of conventional arms control in Europe, Allied cohesion at the negotiating table becomes more indispensable than ever. To this end:

- The High Level Task Force (HLTF) will be given a permanent mandate by the Council and will report regularly thereto. It will serve throughout the negotiations as the steering instrument for the coordination of the Alliance position on questions of general strategy, substantive issues, and any such changes in the position to be presented at the negotiating site.
- The Deputy Secretary General of NATO, Ambassador Guidi, will remain chairman: the members of the HLTF shall be officials -- as a rule from capitals -- who can speak authoritatively for their governments.
- Unified Allied positions as worked out by the HLTF shall be communicated to delegations by governments.
- Disagreements within the NATO caucus at the negotiating site regarding the Alliance position shall be referred to the HLTF for resolution.
- Tactics will be coordinated in the local NATO caucus with the aim of ensuring that Western views are consistently maintained and effectively presented. Information on bilateral contacts will be exchanged among Alliance delegations. The chairmanship of the caucus will rotate on a regular basis to be agreed.
- Regular reports will be made to the HLTF which will include evaluation of current negotiating positions and any problems which may arise at the negotiating site.
- NATO Military Authorities will be represented at Evere and the negotiating site in order to advise Allied delegations.

II. The Vienna Follow-Up Meeting and Future Negotiations

- The working body on Security at the CSCE follow-up meeting is scheduled to discuss the results of the CDE.
- An informal "mandate body" consisting of the states with particular responsibility in matters of conventional stability in Europe, i.e. the 16 and 7 members of the Alliances, shall constitute itself to negotiate a mandate for negotiations on conventional stability in the whole of Europe at lower levels of forces. This body will be outside the purview of the CSCE.

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- The 23, in a form to be decided upon, will inform the CSCE participants not parties to the mandate negotiations of their progress. The 23 will submit for their information the results of those negotiations.
- The mandate negotiated by the 23 Alliance members for negotiations on conventional stability shall become the basis for conventional reduction negotiations involving the 23 Alliance members. Encouragement of this activity and an invitation for information about its progress, along with a decision of the 35 on the continuation of the CDE, on the basis of the Madrid mandate, will become part of a balanced overall result of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna.
- The group of 23 will inform, as appropriate, the other CSCE states of its activities regarding subsequent negotiations on conventional arms control in all of Europe.

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WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

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URGENT

MESSAGE NO. 519

CLASSIFICATION

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PAGES FOURFROM RODNEY B. MCDANIEL456-2224

(NAME)

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MESSAGE DESCRIPTION ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS

NSC LOG# 90804

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JCSCAPTAIN JOSEPH C. STRASSER EXECUTIVE ASSISTANTACDAMR. William STAPLESEXECUTIVE SECRETARYREMARKS COMMENTS REQUESTED BY NOON 5 DEC.STATE PLEASE ^{PLS} TO "ACDA"

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Remarks

H/ Executive Secretary
4 NOV 86
Date

3637 (10-81)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

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November 3, 1986

Executive 2
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CONFIDENTIAL WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL JAMES F. LEMON
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

CAPT JOSEPH C. STRASSER
Executive Assistant to the Chairman
Joint Chiefs of Staff

MR. WILLIAM B. STAPLES
Executive Secretary
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency


Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

25X1

SUBJECT: Conventional Arms Control (U)

The National Security Adviser has approved the attached proposal as a US position for forum and procedures to establish a new conventional arms reduction negotiation. (C)


Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Attachment
As Stated

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C-119-17

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- We would propose to complete the High Level Conventional Task Force (CTF) report for NAC Ministers on December 11-12, to incorporate the following concepts. (U)
- At the NAC Ministerial, Ministers would (1) review the CTF report; (2) endorse the concept of alliance-to-alliance negotiations on Atlantic-to-the-Urals force reductions and limitations, as an essential element of the response to the Halifax mandate; (3) mandate the CTF to remain in existence both to complete details of preparing for such negotiations, and to become the directing body for developing and issuing coordinated "guidance" to the delegations at the negotiations, clearly understood to foreclose individual national positions at the negotiations, and (4) call for the Warsaw Pact to agree to meet at a Preparatory Conference (PrepCon) at a time and place mutually agreed, to establish terms of reference for such a negotiation.
- Subsequent to the NAC statement, the Allies would undertake two separate areas of action at the CSCE RevCon in Vienna, respectively concerning future negotiations within the CSCE framework on confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) and human rights, and outside the CSCE framework on force reductions, as follows:
 - 1 - Within CSCE Framework
Call on the RevCon to mandate:
 - a. A new CSBM negotiation, within the CSCE framework, as a follow on to CDE -- a kind of CDE II.
 - b. A human rights negotiation, within the CSCE framework, of equal status to the above negotiation on CSBM.
 - 2 - Outside of the CSCE Framework
Call on the RevCon to:
 - a. take note of the importance of reductions in the forces of the two Alliances;
 - b. encourage the two Alliances to establish negotiations for significant conventional force reductions and limitations from the Atlantic to the Urals; and
 - c. invite such a negotiation to inform CSCE participants not parties to the negotiation periodically on progress in the negotiation. (S)

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If the Warsaw Pact has responded before the end of the RevCon to the Western invitation, the RevCon could note the encouraging activity on the part of the two Alliances. If the Warsaw Pact does not respond promptly to our invitation, we should seek to have the RevCon urge the Warsaw Pact to respond. (C)

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Executive Registry

86-4680X

8 October 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Next Steps in Implementing US Decision
on Conventional Arms Control

1. The Interagency Group (IG) on Conventional Arms Control met on 8 October 1986 to consider next steps in implementing the President's decision on conventional arms control. (The President's decision essentially is that the US wants any negotiations that are to consider reductions of US forces in Europe to be on an alliance-to-alliance basis and outside the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and/or the Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE). The North Atlantic Council will issue instructions to any Western negotiators. The talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) will continue until NATO and the Warsaw Pact take up negotiations in a new forum.) (S NF)

2. The IG agreed to draft a cable to US NATO and US embassies explaining the rationale behind the President's decision and heard the State Department's plan to brief the NATO allies. (Ambassador Ridgway will brief NATO on 9 October, and Secretary Shultz will explain the US decision on Monday, 13 October, as part of his briefing on the US-USSR meeting in Iceland.) Assistant Secretary of Defense Perle suggested that a presidential envoy be sent to Paris to explain the US position to Prime Minister Chirac. Mr. Perle said Mr. Hal Sonnenfeldt would be a perfect envoy in that he has known Chirac and Foreign Minister Raimond for 20 years. The IG Chairman, Assistant Secretary of State Holmes, demurred, and the IG did not decide on this issue. Ambassador Max Kampelman may brief the British, French, and West Germans if he has time next week. (S NF)

3. All IG members agreed that the US will have a difficult time in convincing the French to join in alliance-to-alliance negotiations, for the French have stated repeatedly that they will negotiate arms reductions only in a CSCE context. (The task of convincing our other NATO partners--especially West Germany--to accept the US position will also be very difficult. Bonn has made clear that it wants Paris "in" on whatever future negotiations take place.)

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SUBJECT: Next Steps in Implementing US Decision on
Conventional Arms Control

4. Mr. Perle was probably correct when he commented that
"MBFR has gone on for 13 years, and this (future negotiations on
reductions) could be a process lasting 10 or perhaps 20 years."
(S NF)



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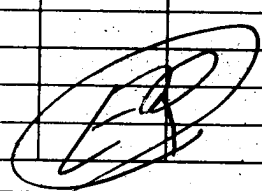
Special Assistant
Regional Issues Group/SOVA

Distribution:

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Remarks

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Executive Secretary
6 Oct 86

Date

3637 (10-81)

SECRETTHE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONSYSTEM II
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October 4, 1986

Executive Registry

86- 4539X

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
THE CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
THE DIRECTOR, ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

SUBJECT: Conventional Arms Control (C)

The President has reviewed options for the U.S. Government position regarding proposals for new negotiations on conventional force reductions encompassing all of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and the separate issue of what the U.S. Government should propose for the existing Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) negotiations. The following guidance is issued for use by your agencies:

1. The United States will support and advocate that any conventional arms control negotiations which include, as a part of their mandate, potential reductions of U.S. forces in Europe should be conducted on an alliance-to-alliance basis. In such talks, the Western negotiators or negotiating group should be instructed throughout by NATO, on the basis of instructions agreed by the North Atlantic Council (NAC). (S)
2. The United States should support rapid completion of ongoing work in NATO to develop a NATO position calling for preparations for immediate negotiations on a mandate for discussions of significant reductions of conventional forces from the Atlantic to the Urals. (S)
3. These alliance-to-alliance negotiations aimed at developing a new conventional arms control mandate to discuss reductions, as well as the subsequent reductions negotiations themselves, should be conducted outside of and separate from the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and from the framework of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in Europe (CDE). Specifically, the United States will not support a force reductions negotiation within a CDE mandate, even within a distinct negotiation conducted on an alliance-to-alliance basis. (S)

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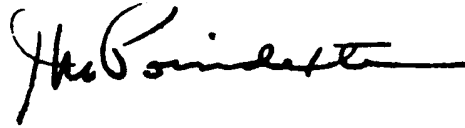
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4. At this time, it is the policy of the United States to support the continuation of the MBFR negotiations until a satisfactory mandate, as described above, is agreed for new conventional arms reductions negotiations. (S)
5. The Interdepartmental Group on Conventional Arms Control, as a matter of urgency, will undertake further work aimed at developing substantive positions for initial reductions proposals for these new negotiations and for consultations with our allies. (S)

FOR THE PRESIDENT:



John M. Poindexter

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